

THE DAILY WORKER FIGHTS
For a Workers-Farmers Government
To Organize the Unorganized
For the 40-Hour Week
For a Labor Party

Daily Worker

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BLAST IN HARLEM FACTORY KILLS 3 AND INJURES 10

Workers Mangled in
Debris; Gas Fumes
Hinder Rescue

Faulty Motor Blamed
Plant Was "Hell Hole,"
Neighbors Charge

Three were killed and ten others injured when an explosion in the Kill-All Disinfecting Company wrecked the one-story building at 422 W. 108th St. and the two adjoining buildings shortly after 12:30 yesterday. One of the adjoining buildings was occupied by the Acme Furring Company, and the other by a junk shop.

The force of the explosion was so great that the blast was heard and felt throughout the entire east side vicinity, between 3rd Ave. and the East River, near which the wrecked buildings were situated. Passersby and other workers on the street were thrown to their feet when the explosion occurred, and the windows of buildings for two blocks around were shattered.

Only one of the dead had been identified late last night. Rescue squads and firemen were searching the ruins in the eastern corner of the demolished building for the bodies of three workers, believed to be buried under the debris.

Of the dead, Harry Freeman, the owner of the Kill-All Disinfecting Company was the only one who had been identified. The bodies of two workers, badly mangled, were still awaiting identification. Among the injured were:

Louis Greco, 29, of 330 E. 144th St., removed to the Harlem Hospital. Skull fractured.

Albert Humphrey, 50, of 1890 Prospect Ave., the Bronx, taken to the Beth David Hospital. Head injuries.

Lewis Lorado, 70, of 403 E. 144th St., taken to City Hospital with fractured hip.

Louis Lerman, 50, was taken to his home at 23 E. 109th St., after being treated for shock.

Joseph Arabella, 48, taken home at 662 Fulton St., Brooklyn, treated for severe shock.

John Ruocco, 55, of 341 E. 121st St., taken into Mt. Sinai Hospital with internal injuries, the seriousness of which were not completely determined.

Frank Ruocco, his son, 21, of same address, taken to Mt. Sinai Hospital, internal injuries.

Louis Bolado, fractured skull, taken to Reception Hospital.

The explosion was caused, workers in the vicinity said, by sparks from a faulty motor on the top of a boiler in which the chemicals were mixed. This was verified after part of the debris had been cleared away, when it was seen that the top of this boiler had been entirely blown off.

credit on the left wing movement. They hoped to show that the left wing in the United Mine Workers Union were getting aid from spies in their fight against John L. Lewis and his sell-out gang.

Detective's Letter.
The forgery is reprinted not only

by the "New Leader," the socialist weekly odor, but by the reactionary sheet, the "Illinois Miner." Another boss paper, this time the Chicago Lithuanian Daily Naujienos, also splashes the product of the socialist forgery factory all over its front

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"FORWARD" AND GANG ARE EXPOSED; PROVED FORGERS, STOOLPIGEONS

The National Miners Union, through the latest issue of its organ, "The Coal Digger," lays bare one of the most flagrant forgeries ever concocted against the working class in their struggle against the bosses and their betrayers.

In exposing this forgery to the world, the left wing Miners Union brands the socialist party and its traitorous sheet, the Jewish Daily Forward, as doing business with, and being a part of, the agents-provocateur and forgery rings who slander the Communist and left

wing movement, nationally and internationally.

Cheap Forgery.
The socialist party and the "Forward," rich paymaster of the underworld hirelings used to terrorize needle trades workers, are also, however, exposed as desperate with fear at the turning tide, as the needle trades workers here rally in greater numbers daily behind the left wing unions.

The Forward, therefore, came to the realization that the hundreds of thugs it hired for its henchmen in

wing movement, nationally and internationally.

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TRY FRAME-UP OF 21 MINERS DECEMBER 13TH

Case of State Police
Charging Into Sacco-
Vanzetti Meeting

Accuse Miners of Riot
First Call It Murder;
One Trooper Killed

PITTSBURGH, Pa., Dec. 6.—Twenty-one miners will go on trial in the Cheswick case, Dec. 13, charged with rioting and incitement to riot. The International Labor Defense is defending these men.

The Cheswick case grew out of one of the most brutal episodes in the history of Pennsylvania's notorious "state constabulary," more familiarly known as "The Cossacks."

On August 22, a mass meeting of 5,000 coal miners and members of their families gathered on a farm near Cheswick, Pa., to protest against the murder of Sacco and Vanzetti, who were going to the electric chair that night.

Among the speakers at the meeting was Anthony Minerich, now scheduled for preliminary examination next Friday on a framed-up dynamiting charge at Pittsburg, Pa.

Ride Down Miners.
Hardly had the meeting started when officers of the state constabulary rushed upon the speakers' platform and forbade the meeting.

The chairman and speakers argued with them that the meeting was perfectly legal and, apparently satisfied, the police withdrew.

Immediately thereafter, however, a troop of mounted police, ambushed nearby, charged full into the meeting, riding over men, women and children, hurling tear gas bombs and swinging their clubs right and left. They also menaced the crowd with their revolvers and fired an occasional shot.

Trooper Killed.
Indescribable confusion resulted, and when the crowd broke up, the police chased and clubbed the miners across the field and onto the road.

But during the shooting one state policeman, one of the most eager to club and ride down miners, was discovered lying on the field, shot dead by someone unknown.

Twenty-one prominent miners were arrested and charged with murder. The charge was afterwards changed to rioting and incitement to riot, etc. It is on this charge, more than a year after their arrest, that they are to go on trial.

Following are the names and addresses of the workers arrested in the Cheswick affair:

Mike Marakovich, Pete Mangini, Dominic Mangini, Frank Maskalus, Dominic Lareface, Joe Lorrie, Steve Kurepa, Raymond Janna, Joe Ptasinski, Joe Bracco, Peter Morri, C. P. Liberator, James Mercuri, Ercole Morretti, Tony De Bernardi, Joe Paloni, Dominic Paloni, Emideo Gaspari, John Barnabei, Nazzano Peretti, Ilano Marcure.

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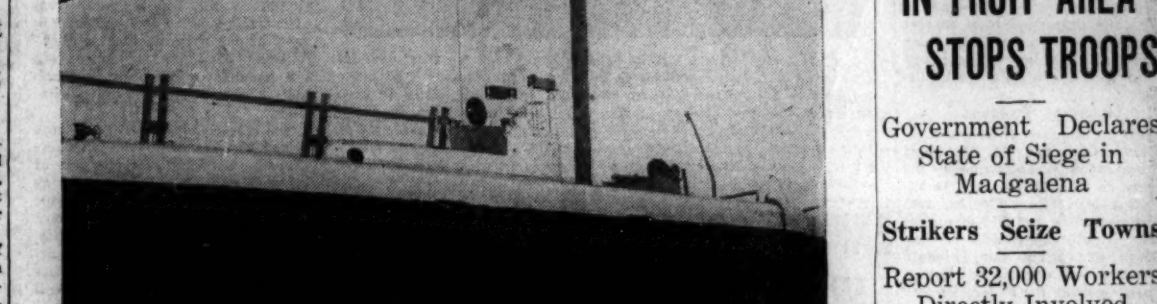
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U. S. FLEET READY TO INTERVENE IN COLOMBIA PLANTATION STRIKE

United States Navy Perfecting War Machine for Wall Street



The U. S. S. Defender, the latest in submarine war machines, receiving its finishing touches before it mounts its guns and begins testing its war efficiency off Bridgeport, Conn. The Defender is equipped with special salvage devices which will permit it to submerge and carry on rescue or salvage work on a submarine or warship struck by a torpedo. There are other features, which will make it a formidable war craft, but which are being kept secret by the Navy Department for fear some other imperialist power will discover these innovations.

Captain Coll, Legionnaire, Admits Centralians Framed

LINK POINCARE
TO HUGE GRAFT

Thousands Suffer in
Big Stock Swindle

PARIS, Dec. 6 (UP).—Premier Poincare has written to Deputy Chastenet asking him to be more explicit in his charges that high officials of the government were involved in the financial scandal caused by the collapse of the newspaper Gazette Du Franc and its stock-selling schemes.

Chastenet announced that he would interpellate the government on the matter next Tuesday.

Meanwhile police continued their investigation of the Gazette's affairs. Mme. Marthe Hanau, director of the Gazette, and her former husband, Lazare Bloch, still were being questioned. Police believe losses running into millions have been sustained by thousands of persons in all walks of life through France.

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RAIL WALKOUT IN FRUIT AREA STOPS TROOPS

Government Declares
State of Siege in
Madgalena

Strikers Seize Towns
Report 32,000 Workers
Directly Involved

BOGOTA, Colombia, Dec. 6.—Hundreds of railroad workers in Magdalena province have joined the strike of the 30,000 plantation workers against the United Fruit Company and have refused to transport government forces ordered to the area in an effort to quell the walkout.

With the strike steadily gaining in strength and with work in the feudal estates of the United Fruit Company brought to a standstill, preparations are being made by the United States squadron stationed at the Canal Zone to cruise south to Colombian waters. Officers for such a move are believed to have been sent by Commander Collins in charge of the squadron by the state department which finds this new heroic struggle of Latin American workers against American imperialist interests decidedly embarrassing to Hoover's tour.

Martial Law.
Called upon by the United Fruit Company to suppress the strike which threatened the company property, President Miguel Abadía Méndez declared martial law in the department of Magdalena, which action was approved by the cabinet today. The president's message follows:

"A strike of laborers in the banana region of Santa Maria has prolonged itself and the government has seen it convenient to declare

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PLEDGE AID TO FRUIT STRIKERS

U. S. Anti-Imperialists
Cable to Colombia

Active support in the fight against Yankee imperialism, which is preparing to make a new onslaught on the Latin American workers by landing forces to oppress the strike of the 32,000 plantation workers in Colombia, was pledged in a cable sent yesterday by the American Anti-Imperialist League to the Colombia section of the All-American Anti-Imperialist League.

The cable follows:

"Colombia Section, All-American Anti-Imperialist League, Bogota, Colombia:

"American imperialism is preparing to land military forces to protect United Fruit Co. interests in Colombia if the Colombia lacks of Wall St. are unable to break the strike of workers and peasants. United Fruit Co. interests in Latin America, amounting to hundreds of millions of dollars, are trying to crush the militant movement of Colombia workers and peasants. United States section of All-American Anti-Imperialist League is with you in your struggle and calls upon the Colombian section of the League to fight such intervention and prevent repetition of the Nicaragua invasion.

"Signed: Paul Crouch, secretary; Albert Moreau, director of Latin American section."

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BUILD LOCAL OF SILK WORKERS

Plan Member Drive,
Relief Campaign

(Special to the Daily Worker)
PATERSON, N. J., Dec. 6.—Beginning with tomorrow, Friday night, the Silk Workers Local, Paterson, of the National Textile Workers Union inaugurates a plan of activity aiming at building a strong silk workers' union in this city.

A membership meeting, called on the basis of representatives from the various shops, will meet tomorrow night to make out official applications to membership in the National Textile Workers Union and to discuss and act upon the question of their relationship with the parent union body and their role as a part of that union.

Weisbord to Speak.
Albert Weisbord, national secretary-treasurer of the N. T. W., will speak at the meeting on the structure of the National Union and the relation of the local unions to it. Lena Chernenko, local organizer, will then open a discussion on the local problems of the Paterson union and how to adapt it to the national union structure.

The reasons for such a discussion becomes clear when it is remembered that the N. T. W. builds its local units on individual mills, while the silk plants in Paterson vary in the number employed in one shop, from

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PROTEST BALBO ARRIVAL IN U. S.

Anti-Fascists to Hold
Mass Meet Sunday

To protest the presence of one of the chiefs of the fascist gangsters, Italo Balbo, who will arrive here today as a delegate to the International Aeronautical Conference in Washington from the Italian Aerial Association, the Anti-Fascist Alliance of America will hold a mass protest meeting at the People's House, 7 East 15th St., on Sunday, Dec. 9, at 2 p. m.

Balbo is noted as one of the foremost of Mussolini's gangsters and murderers. He is guilty of the assassination of Don Minzoni, the revolutionary Italian worker. It was he who knifed the young Antonio Zamboni, who was alleged to have attempted to kill Mussolini. He is the leader of the gangsters of fascism.

The Anti-Fascist Alliance calls his presence in America an insult and a challenge and urges all anti-fascists to do their duty by making their protest felt.

The chairman of the mass protest meeting will be T. De Fazio; speakers, Francesco Coco, Felice Guadagni, Pietro Allegri, Carlo Treves, Enrico Montorsi, Guido Serio.

Peruvian Workers Die
in Mines During Flood

LIMA, Peru, Dec. 6 (UP).—The ministry of public works announced tonight that a small lake near Morococha, in the Department of Junin, had broken through and inundated four mines in which 60 laborers were working. Probably all of the men were lost, officials said.

SHIP SINKS, CREW SAVED
(By United Press)

The tug Haggerty, owned by a towing company, sank in the East River near Riker's Island yesterday, after an explosion. The crew of five was saved.

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Garment Workers Endorse Working Women Delegate Conference Next Thursday

ROSE WORTIS IN CALL FOR FULL CO-OPERATION

"Must Spread Message of Organization"

The Delegate Conference called by the New York Working Women's Federation for Thursday evening, Dec. 13, has the full endorsement of the garment workers, according to Rose Wortis, leader of this militant section of organized workers in New York.

In a statement on the importance of holding a delegate conference to discuss the organization of masses of working women who are today still unorganized in leading industries of New York, Rose Wortis declared:

Important Progress. "As one who has participated in a union which has the record of militant struggle to organize the workers to combat the intense exploitation of the employers, and who has seen the benefits of organization, I fully appreciate the importance of calling the Delegate Conference on organizing women workers, such as the Federation has planned.

"It is the duty of all organized women to bring the message of trade union organization to the thousands of unorganized women in this city and throughout the United States to the many millions of working women in the open-shop industries where the bosses are making every effort to prevent organization. It is not only our duty to bring the message of trade union organization, but to assist in organizing these women workers.

"Ready To Assist." "Our union is now on the eve of a strike," said Rose Wortis, "and we know that the New York Working Women's Federation has helped us in our past struggles and will help us in every possible way in the present struggle of the needle trades workers. We are therefore ready to assist in making the Federation's delegate conference the most important task of arousing women workers to militant action against the bosses, and to organizing them for effective struggle against the constantly greater exploitation of the exploiting class. All workers should attend the conference on Thursday, Dec. 13."

BUILD LOCAL OF SILK WORKERS

Plan Member Drive, Relief Campaign

Continued from Page One about a dozen to a shop several hundreds of workers in size. This meeting will also discuss the role played by the Associated Silk Workers' Union and the role it will play in the future.

Manifest activities are planned by the recent constructed Organization Committee and the membership. Registrations of the number employed in each shop will be made, appeals to these workers to join will be issued, and after tabulation of sufficient strength in a particular factory, shop meetings will be called and organization will take place.

Proceeds for Organization. Next Friday night, December 14, an international concert will be held by the Trade Union Educational League, Paterson local. The concert will be held at 8 o'clock in Carpenter's Hall, 56 Van Houten St., and promises to have New York talent as well as the best local artists at the affair. The proceeds will go toward the organization campaign of the new Silk Workers' Local of the N. T. W.

The Young Workers League will hold a ball Saturday evening, Dec. 15 at 3 Governor St., for the benefit of the silk strikers. The funds obtained from this affair will be taken charge of by the W. I. R. local which will work for strike relief in conjunction with the N. T. W. Fred Bidsenkapp, head of the Workers' International Relief, appeared at the second meeting of the Organization Committee and worked out with that body a detailed plan of raising funds to aid needy silk strikers. The plan prepared included house-to-house collections, affairs, the building of a strong W. I. R. local in Paterson, the initiation fees of which, obtained from new members at the rate of \$1 each, will go intact to the relief fund of the union. None of this initial entrance fee for new members of the W. I. R. will be taken by the national office of the W. I. R.

Lithuanian Communist Daily to Give Concert Sunday Afternoon at 4

A concert has been arranged by the Lithuanian Communist daily, "Laisve" for this Sunday afternoon at 4 o'clock at the Arcadia Hall, Halsey St., Brooklyn. Many articles of note have been engaged by the preparations committee, and an excellent program is promised to all who attend.

Exploiter of Thousands Returns Home



Sir Thomas Lipton, who as head of the Lipton tea trust exploits thousands of Chinese natives in addition to the thousands of other workers in his factories whom he drives mercilessly, finds it easy to be amiable and smiling on the millions he has wronged from his visit occasionally with all the pomp of a potentate, forcing the workers to bow down before him. Above we see him with two lady friends returning to his home in England.

EXPOSE FORWARD MINE FORGERIES

Branded Stool-Pigeons by Miners' Union

Continued from Page One page. All this in order to besmirch the left wing and its leaders. On Saturday, Nov. 19, the Jewish Daily Forward came out with headlines which shrieked: "Spies Are Helping Communists Break the Miners' Union!" And in the center of the page a reproduction of a letter was framed. This letter was supposedly sent from a mysterious detective, signing himself No. 12, to his chief, a New York private detective. This letter is reproduced in these columns, followed by the genuine letterhead at one time used by the Coal Digger offices.

In unmasking the socialist spy forgery, the Coal Digger asks the Forward how they could explain having laid hands on the letter, even if the Forward's charge that it was genuine were to be believed. Did the socialist gentlemen have regular business relations with the detective and employers' spy agencies, the Forward is asked. But the National Miners' Union organ now, definitely proven to anyone with eyesight—that the Forward does deal with detective spies and forgers, as even a glance at the genuine letterhead shows.

Baseless Slanders. At the time of the appearance of the forgeries in the reactionary press, the fact that these were cheap baseless slanders was apparent by the fact that paid detective spies do not send in signed reports to their central offices on stationery of the union or its organ. Of course, it was admitted by the left wing miners' union that the employers may consider them dangerous enough to their profits to send spies into the organization, but spies don't readily use union stationery.

Before the glaring discrepancies are pointed out in detail one more item of interest may be recorded. This is the information carried by the Coal Digger on the news representative of the Forward and his open and chummy friendliness with a notorious coal operators' spy. The Coal Digger charges: "Upon the occasion of the Pittsburgh District Convention, which was held in May of this year, that Thomas Myerscough, district secretary-treasurer, publicly attacked Michael Halap, thought by scores to be a coal operators' spy, who was sitting in the gallery of the convention for three days. Who was Halap's company and conversational friend for those three days in the gallery? None other than Mr. Julius Weinberg, Pittsburgh representative of the yellow Jewish Daily Forward!"

Discrepancies. The bungling forgers of the "socialist" Forward are exposed by another significant fact. The Coal Digger at one time did use a letterhead with a somewhat similar wording. That was up till last March when that letterhead was permanently discarded for another, a new one. The forged letter is dated August 2 and besides is not even a good copy of that old letterhead. The following discrepancies show it:

1. The missing slogan, "Organize the Women," on the fake letter's slogan box, which is on the genuine. 2. The disproportion of the lettering on the fake as compared with the genuine. Compare the words "Save" and "Committee" as to their respective positions underneath the slogan boxes. 3. The enlarged union label on the fake, which is larger than that of the genuine, and which is also to the right of the word "The" underneath, whereas on the genuine the word "The" is directly underneath the label. 4. The absence of the two dashes in connection with the word "The" (The Coal Digger) on the fake, which is plainly discernible on the genuine. 5. Following the "Room 405-526 Federal St." on the fake letter, the

GOV'T WORKERS BETRAYED AGAIN BY SOCIALISTS

Socialists of Austria Support Clericals

VIENNA, Dec. 6.—All the bourgeois political parties are striving to persuade the post, telegraph and telephone employees to abandon the passive resistance they are now engaged in. The social democrats are working with the bourgeois parties against the workers.

The Pan-German Party, whose supporters are chiefly government officials, has called for the abandonment of passive resistance as a preliminary condition for sponsoring the demands of the post, telegraph and telephone workers in parliament. The social-democrats have supported the action of the Pan-Germans by securing postponement of the parliamentary debate on the question until Friday, in the hope that passive resistance will be given up by the workers by that date. They have taken this action in order to permit parliament to discuss the matter without what they call undue pressure from the workers.

Marty, French Worker, Calls Bluff of Foch

Continued from Page One These were the statements that Foch made to the English reporter. When this interview appeared in the English press the entire French press kept silent over these statements of the undiplomatic Foch, while the Communist press made use of the statements to expose the present war preparations against the Soviet Union.

Will Stop War on USSR. André Marty, however, while in prison, wrote an open letter to Foch in which he told him that the intervention of the French fleet in 1919 had been rendered ineffectual by the sailors of the French Black Sea fleet and that in the future the sailors would also hinder, thru their action, any war threat against the Soviet Union. This letter brought Marty the 4 year prison sentence, but the French government hastened to report that Foch's interview had never taken place. The English reporter then must have pulled the "forged" speech of Foch out of his coat-sleeve.

General Foch, the reporter of the Referee, H. H. Foster, the editor of this paper, Preston, were called to the hearing as witnesses, as well as the Communist deputy, Marcel Cachin, and the war minister, Painlevé.

Dodge, Cover Up. The two Englishmen could not appear, but gave to the defense a statement declaring that the interview with Marshall Foch had taken place, as was reported in their newspaper. Foch and Painlevé were "hindered" from coming by duties. The whole proceedings show that the government had given the signal for the "least possible noise." The proceedings were occupied with a talk by Marty which was stricken from the records.

The trial was postponed for a month.

Ragozin Will Lecture on "War Danger" at Lower Bronx Forum

Ray Ragozin, instructor on Marxism at the Workers School, will lecture on "The War Danger" at the Lower Bronx Open Forum, 715 E. 138th St., this Sunday evening at 8:30 o'clock. The lecture is one of the series of the lower Bronx which Ragozin will discuss the recent intensification of the war danger as exemplified in Hoover's war trip to South America. Admission will be free.

RECEPTION FOR 22 MILITANTS JUST RELEASED

Jailed in Washington for Porter Protest

The workers of New York will welcome the 22 militants who have just been released from jail in Washington at a reception to be given next Wednesday night at 8 o'clock at Manhattan Lyceum, 66 E. Fourth St., under the auspices of the New York District of the International Labor Defense, the Young Workers (Communist) League and the All-America Anti-Imperialist League.

The 22 workers were freed yesterday after serving 30 days for demonstrating before the war department at Washington for the release of John Porter, young New Bedford textile strike leader, and against the imperialist war.

Speakers will include Benjamin Gitlow, member of the secretariat of the Workers (Communist) Party, and five of the workers arrested at the demonstration: Paul Crouch, secretary of the All-America Anti-Imperialist League; Karl Reeve, editor of the Labor Defender; Clarence Miller, organizer of the Young Workers (Communist) League in the Philadelphia District; Benjamin Thomas, Philadelphia machinist and well-known militant, and Helen Bennett.

Literary Symposium at Bronx Workers' Forum This Sunday

A literary symposium which is expected to surpass most of the others held during the past year will be held Sunday at 8 p. m. at the Bronx Open Forum, 1330 Wilkins Ave., the Bronx. Michael Gold editor of the New Masses, and Sender Garlin and A. B. Magill, both of the Daily Worker, will take part in the symposium.

Gold will discuss the modern drama and will point out its social trends today. Garlin will talk on various contemporary literary critics, including Van Wyck Brooks, Ludwig Lewisohn, Heywood Brown, H. L. Mencken and V. F. Calverton. Modern revolutionary poetry will be discussed by A. B. Magill. He will read from the work of several contemporary poets including some of his own.

French Gov't Helps Shield U. S. Oil Gaffer



When it comes to protecting grafters who steal millions of dollars there is perfect teamwork among the imperialist countries. A French court has refused to extradite Harry M. Blackmer, the oil gaffer, who is "wanted" in this country on charges of perjury and to testify in connection with the Teapot Dome mess. Of course the American courts, which delayed asking for Blackmer's extradition until the two-year time limit had expired, don't want him so badly that they won't be quickly consoled for their bereavement. Photo shows (left to right) S. G. Archibald and Henri Gadd, his attorneys, and Blackmer.

Looking for Lackeys to Take the U. S. Hook

Continued from Page One Electric: C. A. Buck, of the Bethlehem Chilean Mines Company; Victor Schoepferle, of the National City Bank; R. F. Loree, of the Guaranty Trust Bank; F. B. Bigelow, of the West India Oil Company; J. K. MacGowan, of the Guggenheim interests, and four imperialist agents of the DuPont de Nemours Powder Company, representing undoubtedly, the "good will" ingredient of the explosives used to blow Latin American workers to pieces by the U. S. marines, which were also represented by Lieutenant Commander Paul F. Foster.

The speeches on both sides were full of sweet nothings, but are well understood to represent another step to bring the Latin American leaders under the slogan of "Pan-Americanism" into conformity with the position desired for them by Yankee imperialism, the position of satraps of Wall Street. Their "education" will be continued at the coming conference.

Holtman to Speak at Bronx Co-Op Monday

Rachel Holtman will speak on "The Effects of Present Economic Conditions on Family Relations" at the Bronx Cooperative House auditorium, 2700 Bronx Park East, Monday at 8:30 p. m. The lecture has been arranged by Council-18 of the United Councils of Working Class Women.

The Workers (Communist) Party fights for the organization of the unorganized workers.

Dance Tomorrow to Aid Florida Negro Victims

As a part of its campaign to raise money for the Florida storm sufferers, who have suffered both from the recent storm and from the practice of discrimination by the Red Cross in the distribution of relief, the Negro Workers' Relief Committee is holding a dance tomorrow night at Imperial Auditorium, 1604 W. 129th St.

The net receipts of the dance, after expenses have been met, will be used by the committee in its relief work among the Negro storm victims of Florida.

Market Collapses; Big Inside Rings Clean Up on the Over Optimistic

Stocks today encountered a real break. The selling was precipitated by a sudden rise in call money to 12 per cent, the highest since July, 1920. The wise insiders are shearing the lambs who have been selling short.

Declines ranged from one to 20 points, but the majority of issues were 2 to 5 points lower. In the reaction many "stop loss" orders just under the market were caught, furthering the decline. U. S. Steel and General Motors were in the price cut.

Call money renewed at 9 per cent, the same as yesterday. Before yesterday the last time money renewed at 9 per cent was on Nov. 12, 1920, and it advanced to 12 per cent, the highest rate in four years.

DELEGATES MEET DEC. 16 TO HELP DEFENSE OF 662

I. L. D. Calls on Labor to Free Strikers

A conference of delegates from labor organizations throughout the New York district, for the purpose of formulating plans for the defense and support of the 662 New Bedford textile strikers who are going on trial in New Bedford, will be held Sunday afternoon, Dec. 16, at 2 o'clock in Irving Plaza, 15th St. and Irving Place. The conference has been called by the New York District of the International Labor Defense, 799 Broadway.

A call to all labor organizations, issued by the I. L. D. through Rose Haron, secretary of the New York District, states, in part:

"This trial is the biggest mass trial in the history of the American labor movement. The same state that murdered Sacco and Vanzetti is now seeking, at the instigation of the mill owners, to smash the National Textile Workers Union. The only crime that the workers committed was that they struck against the speed-up system, reduction in wages, and demanded the right to organize.

"Your organization is urged to participate by sending two delegates to this conference. Demonstrate your solidarity for labor's martyrs! Help free class-war prisoners!"

Paterson Celebration to Greet New Members Won in Silk Struggle

PATERSON, N. J., Dec. 6.—The Paterson organization of the Workers (Communist) Party is having a celebration to welcome the new Party members won in the silk strike. The older members will greet the 40 members of the Party and the 30 of the Young Workers League who have recently joined. The affair will take place at 3 Governor St., Saturday, Dec. 15, at 8 p. m. Refreshments will be served and a number of speakers, among them a representative of the District Committee, will talk to those present on the role and work of the Communist Party.

The Workers (Communist) Party fights for the organization of the unorganized workers.

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Demonstrate Your Solidarity! Be One of the 25,000 that Will Crowd Madison Square Garden Saturday Night, December 15. Don't Miss!

PARTY PRE-CONVENTION DISCUSSION SECTION

In its statement of December 3rd, the Opposition within the Party struck the following as the keynote of its pre-convention policy:

"The objective meaning of the stand taken by the majority of the Central Committee is to confuse the characteristics of Trotskyism as a Left deviation, to obscure the characteristics and most important manifestation of the present Right danger and thus to weaken the struggle against both deviations. The result of such a line can only be the strengthening of all opportunist elements in the Party."

From this statement it is clear that the policy of the Opposition is:

1. Trotskyism today in the United States is a Left deviation, a Leftist danger of no important consequence.
2. The Central Executive Committee is proposing a right wing opportunist line and therefore in the light of the American and international situations, the Central Executive Committee is the main danger before the Party.
3. Declaration of war on the Central Executive Committee—a call to the membership to mobilize against the present Central Executive Committee, the Party's present leadership.

This is a dangerously wrong policy based on false assumptions, leading to erroneous conclusions and which can only serve to harm the Party very seriously.

What are the facts? What is the policy of the Central Executive Committee?

The Central Executive Committee has thus given its stand and policy for the fight against the Right danger and Trotskyism in its declaration of November 16th:

"Trotskyism is nothing but opportunism covered with Left phrases."

"To the American section of the Comintern, Trotskyism, as a challenge, has now come in its last stages of development, in its open counter-revolutionary, in its open social-democratic form. The recurrence of Trotskyism in our Party brings Trotskyism to us as the international flag of all enemies of the Soviet Union, as the tool of social-democracy against the Comintern, as the rallying center of all hostility against Leninism. In the leading parties of the Communist International, after the defeat of Trotskyism, the decisive danger is the outright opportunist menace. In the Soviet Union, as the October 19th statement of the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union declares, the fight must be conducted on two fronts: against Trotskyism and against outright opportunism."

"In the Workers (Communist) Party of America—in the present situation in which Trotskyism makes its reappearance, already stripped of its Left phrases, as outright opportunism—Trotskyism is an organic part of the Right danger. In our Party we must concentrate the fight against two dangers: first, the Right danger, against outright opportunism, and then against its Trotskyist variation, which is opportunism covered with Left phrases. Both come to a head and converge into a common attack against the Party and the Comintern."

"Trotskyism is the most comprehensively developed system of opportunism with an international basis still seeking to hide its social-democratic character by covering itself with Left phrases."

"Trotskyism, in its last stage of development, is the summing up, is the unifying force of all these opportunistic, Right dangers. Trotskyism, the crassest, the most complete example of opportunism, is coming to a head in an open attack on the Party, on the Comintern and on the Soviet Union."

"The Central Executive Committee warns emphatically against any underestimation of the Right danger in our Party."

"In the present international situation, the Right danger is the main danger within the Communist International and in its American section. The Right danger has its roots in the stabilization of capitalism and in the existence of reformism in the labor movement which retains its hold on large sections of the working class."

This is the policy of the Central Executive Committee. The line of the Central Executive Committee is clear. No amount of misrepresentation, no smoke-screens can mislead the membership of our Party.

THE GROWTH OF THE TROTSKYIST MENACE.

Since the above statement was issued the Trotskyist menace has grown within and outside the Party. Let us recount only a few of the aggravating developments.

In the Minnesota district those supporters of the Opposition who have most energetically been resisting the line of the Central Executive Committee of fighting the betrayer Shipstead, those who have been guilty of some of the worst opportunist errors in our Party, aiming to wipe out completely the independent role of the Trotskyist Party in the Labor Party movement, have come out for Trotskyism. Among the leading Minneapolis Trotskyites are V. R. Dunne, Skoglund, Coover, Votaw, and Hedlund.

In Chicago, Arne Swaback, formerly district organizer, and Glotzer, member of the National Executive Committee of the Young Communist League, have openly embraced Trotskyism. Only recently Swaback was nominated by Chicago Opposition comrades to serve as district organizer of their district.

In the Boston district, the Trotskyites have now banded themselves into a "League Against the Party," a self-styled Independent Communist League of Doctor Konikow, an old standby of the Opposition. This group of Cannon followers is already publishing a paper of its own—the "Bulletin"—a frankly counter-revolutionary organ resorting to the vilest slander of the Soviet Union.

In Cleveland, New York, Kansas and in other districts, Trotskyism has also raised its ugly head, securing recruits in the ranks of the Opposition.

In the Finnish fraction, the Right and Trotsky dangers for a while appeared extremely serious. Vicious attacks were launched against the Party forces in the non-Party organizations by the notorious right wing, opportunist crew of Sulkanen, Askell, Berg, Morson and Sallo, who have for years been the backbone of the Opposition among the Finnish members. These enemies of the Party and the Comintern have all been expelled.

Unquestionably, some tentacles of Trotskyism are still inside our Party. Cannon has instructed his followers to remain in the Party, to hide momentarily their opinions on Trotskyism in order to be able to attack the Central Executive Committee from inside the Party as well as outside. The danger for the Party in this maneuver of the Trotskyites is clearly brought home in the case of Swaback, who only a few days before his outright acceptance of Trotskyism, voted against Trotskyism, for the expulsion of Cannon, Arne and Shachtman, and supported the reservations of the Opposition.

There is also to be noticed an increasing cooperation and unification among the Trotskyist and Party forces outside the Party. Lore and Cannon are again getting closer and closer. Cannon and Eastman are once more working hand in glove. The Volkzeitung, edited by Lore, has hailed the policy of Cannon & Co., has stretched out a hand of welcome to it and has roundly condemned the Central Executive Committee for its prompt and vigorous action against Trotskyism. The Hungarian Trotskyist organ edited by the expelled right wing and social democrat, Baski, is already working openly with Cannon. We will soon see a unified common work of all Trotskyist anti-Party elements in the country.

Every Party member must be awake to this growing menace of Trotskyism. To minimize or to close one's eyes to this danger, is to play into the hands of Trotskyism. Every Communist must rally to the unreserved support of the Party and the Comintern. No matter what Left phrase the Trotskyites may cover themselves with, the indisputable fact remains that today American Trotskyism is the amplifier and broadcaster for the socialist party and all enemies of the Communist Party—the megaphone of the vilest slander and attacks against the Communist movement and its leadership, against the Soviet Union and its achievements.

CONFUSION AND BANKRUPTCY OF THE OPPOSITION.

Why does the Opposition within the Party persist in minimizing the Trotsky danger? Why does the Opposition continue to call Trotskyism in the United States a Left danger when Trotskyism is by day more and more openly counter-revolutionary, when it is bitterly against the Comintern? Merely because Trotskyism covers itself, its Right wing, with Left phrases? Is that the reason for Trotskyism being a Left deviation in the eyes of the Opposition? The whole line of the Opposition stands out as confusion worse confounded when its sudden shifts on the question of Trotskyism are revealed.

Smash Trotskyism! Annihilate the Right Danger! Defeat the Opposition! Unite the Party!

Statement of the Central Executive Committee of Workers (Communist) Party

On October 16th, Comrades Foster, Bittelman and Aronberg evaluated Trotskyism in the United States as an organic part of the Right danger.

"Trotskyism has been correctly condemned by the Comintern as a Social Democratic, counter-revolutionary tendency. Trotskyism employs Left phrases to cover up Right deeds. Comrade Cannon's variety of Trotskyism in the United States constitutes a tendency to develop a Right wing orientation for the American section of the Comintern, under cover of re-opening for discussion the C. I. attitude on the question of Trotskyism."

"The main dangers in our Party, as in the C. I., come in the present period from the Right. The Minority is committed to an uncompromising fight against the Right danger in our Party, no matter from where it comes or in what covers it makes its appearance."

"The Minority decides to wage a merciless fight against this Trotskyite maneuver of Comrade Cannon and to wage this fight as an organic part of its general struggle against the Right danger and the Right wing of our Party, (Lovestone group)."

On October 18th, the Opposition correctly characterized Cannon's Trotskyism as a "Right wing orientation," as "employing Left phrases to cover up Right deeds," "as an organic part of . . . the Right danger." We will not examine here the ridiculous charge of the Opposition that the Central Executive Committee is the Right wing—a charge which the Comintern branded as unfounded.

But on December 3rd the Opposition changed its front completely and characterized Trotskyism as a Left error:

"The objective meaning of the stand taken by the majority of the Central Executive Committee is to confuse the characteristics of Trotskyism as a Left deviation (CEC emphasis)."

The Party realizes that there is something vitally wrong with the stand of the Opposition when it is compelled to shift its position so important a question as Trotskyism so quickly and so sharply in so short a time as from October 16th to December 3rd. On this latter date, the Opposition right-about-faced and spoke of Trotskyism in this new and totally opposite fashion from what it did on November 16th:

"Deviations to the Left in the American Party grow out of the same objective situation as Right deviations. . . ."

Marvelous discovery indeed!

"These numerically weak elements (the Trotskyites) are tending to lose faith in the Communist Party and in the possibilities of its growth. They also tend to lose faith in the Comintern generally. These elements have in the past and today rallied to Trotskyism."

Perhaps the Opposition would have the Party believe that Cannon has gone to the Left since October 16th, since he published his "Manifesto," since he circulated non-Party individuals with anti-Party documents, since he openly launched his Trotskyist attack on the Central Executive Committee, the whole Party and the entire Comintern. In that event the Opposition would have to conclude that the Comintern and its American section are to the Right of the Trotsky-Cannon Company. Has Swaback gone to the Left since his open embracing of Trotskyism and his consequent expulsion from the Party? Have our Minnesota ex-members gone to the Left since their expulsion for support of Cannon's Trotskyism in addition to Shipstead? Maybe Doctor Konikow, Messers. Sulkanen, Askell and Company, have gone to the Left since their public adherence to the "Left deviation" of Trotskyism?

To what depths of absurdity, to what unbelievable fallacies, do the political confusion and bankruptcy of the Opposition lead! Relying on such false reasoning one would conclude: Those who have faith in the Comintern are to the Right; those who have lost faith in the Comintern are to the Left.

What is the basis of all these errors creeping into the position of the Opposition? The answer is clear. The Opposition is confused and bankrupt in its whole analysis and conclusions relative to the Trotskyist and the Right danger in our Party.

This confusion and bankruptcy flow primarily out of the fact that the Opposition within the Party (Foster-Bittelman-Aronberg) and the Opposition outside the Party (Cannon) still stand on the same platform for the United States—"The Right Danger in the American Party." When Comrade Foster presented to the Comintern his position embodied in the ill-fated document, "The Right Danger in the American Party," he declared before the Anglo-American Secretariat on July 17th, 1928, as follows:

"These groups, the so-called Cannon and Foster groups, have been working in an increasing cooperation since their coming together in Moscow a year ago and are rapidly developing in the direction of a uniform and united movement."

However, the Opposition in its December 3rd statement, complained that Cannon is only:

"Pretending to stand on the platform of the Minority, he has actually abandoned every principle incorporated in that document."

"Already Cannon is forced openly to expose his abandonment of the platform of the Minority when he says that he is not in agreement with 'certain wrong formulations contained in it' (Minority document) on the world position and role of American imperialism. In other words Cannon is forced to state that on the most basic proposition in the Minority point of view, namely, on the world position and role of American imperialism, Cannon does not share but is opposed to the point of view of the Minority."

It is not true that Cannon has repudiated the Platform entitled "The Right Danger in the American Party." He expressed reservations regarding some formulations in reference to the estimation of American imperialism. But on this very point, the estimation of the present trend of American imperialism, the Opposition itself has also made somewhat of a right-about-face and changed its position in recent weeks.

The common platform of the then joint Opposition (July-August-September, 1928) against the CEC thus characterized the trend of American imperialism:

"An analysis of the degree of ripeness of these contradictions will show that American capitalism is about to reach the apex of growth. (Opposition's emphasis)."

But today the Opposition speaks somewhat differently. Compare the above estimate of the present trend of American capitalism given by the Opposition in "The Right Danger in the American Party" on July 17, 1928, with the following estimation of American imperialism it gave in its declaration of December 3, 1928:

"The maturing of the inner and outer contradictions of American capitalism which takes place under conditions of continued upward development of United States imperialism."

"While American imperialism is still developing upward, there are maturing internal and external contradictions." (CEC emphasis).

Again there is a shift. In July-September the Opposition spoke of American capitalism reaching the "apex of growth," and having "exhausted its reserves." Two months later, it characterized American capitalism as "still developing upward" and "continued upward development of United States imperialism."

This confusion and political bankruptcy of the Opposition are very sharply revealed in the difference between the estimate of radicalization of the workers in the United States it made in July-September, 1928, and the one it made in its December 3rd declaration.

Speaking on radicalization before the Anglo-American Secretariat of the Comintern, on July 17, 1928, in behalf of the then united Opposition (Foster-Cannon-Bittelman) to the Central Executive Committee, Foster declared that there was:

"... widespread leftward drift of the masses in the United States. There is a general growth of discontent, militancy and readiness to struggle among the semi-skilled and unskilled workers, (the bulk of the American proletariat). A process of wide-

spread and general radicalization is taking place in all industries among the most exploited sections of the workers. . . ." (CEC emphasis).

Then Comrade Foster went on to pour sulphur and fire upon the Central Executive Committee by charging it with a:

"Denial of the existence of a wide-spread and general leftward or radicalization drift among the bulk of the American workers. . . ." (CEC emphasis).

Note another right-about-face from the above extravagantly wrong estimation of radicalization to the more modestly near-correct estimation of the same Opposition (minus Cannon of course) given in its declaration of December 3rd:

"The process of radicalization which is slowly but definitely taking place among the large masses of the American workers."

What has suddenly happened to the "wide-spread" and "general" radicalization among the "bulk" of the American proletariat? Where did the "general" leftward or radicalization drift among the "bulk" of the American working class disappear in recent weeks? Why is radicalization moving so "slowly" all of a sudden? Did the American working class move in the last few weeks, to the Right? Or, now that Cannon has left the Opposition, has it gone to the Right? Are such confusion and turtle-turning on the part of the Opposition the basis of their claim, their real qualifications, for the leadership of the American section of the Comintern? What is especially important to note is that these sudden shifts in the sand-hills of the so-called Marxian analysis of the Opposition occur not on secondary issues, unimportant issues, but on the estimation of American imperialism and the radicalization of the working class, which issues the December 3rd statement of the Opposition itself characterizes as "the most basic proposition in the Minority point of view."

This confusion and political bankruptcy of the Opposition are neither new nor sudden, it is a system—an inherent political feature of the Opposition. Its gamut runs from material bourgeoisification of the American working class in June-September, 1927, to "sudden deepening general radicalization" in June, 1928, from American imperialism "about to reach the apex of growth" in July 1928 to "continued upward development of United States imperialism" in December, 1928; from Trotskyism as a "social democratic and counter-revolutionary tendency," as a "right wing orientation," as "an organic part of the Right danger" in October 1928 to "Trotskyism as a Left deviation" in December, 1928.

Thus swings the "Marxian" pendulum of the Foster-Bourgeoisification to the Bittelman-radicalization; from the Bittelman-apex of growth to the Foster—"upward development"; from the Foster estimate of Trotskyism as a "Right wing orientation" to the Bittelman estimation of "Trotskyism as a Left deviation."

Really, it's about time, that the Foster-Bittelman Opposition, which claims the ideological leadership of the party, should decide who leads whom and where—Bittelman Foster, or Foster Bittelman.

THE FIGHT AGAINST THE RIGHT DANGER AND TROTSKYISM.

The Opposition cannot shake itself free from the shackles of unfounded accusations against the CEC and unwarranted, pretentious claims in its own behalf. That is why it charges the Central Executive Committee with not fighting Trotskyism, with not fighting opportunism. And that's how it comes about that the Opposition is trying to place patently on its own masthead the banner of sole antagonism to Trotskyism and the Right danger. Very likely this grows out of the fact that the Opposition has given birth to both Lore, the arch-opportunist and original Trotskyite in the United States, and Cannon, the latest Trotskyist.

The American Party, under the present leadership, has been in the forefront of the fight against Trotskyism from the moment it reared its head in the Comintern. Hence the slander and vilification of our Party and its leadership by the Trotskyites of every country. There is scarcely a document by Trotsky which does not attack the American Party. And just as it is no accident that the Opposition gave birth to Lore and Cannon, so it is no accident that Lore and Cannon, as revering offspring, have fully paid for the Opposition and slams for the Central Executive Committee.

Several years ago, the Party launched a fight against and drove out from its ranks such crass opportunist as Sulkanen, Lore and Eastman. Notorious Right wingers, outright opportunists like Sulkanen, Askell & Co., have long been under the fire of the Central Executive Committee, while the Opposition was seeking to shelter them and turn the attack against the Left, the genuine, the proletarian, the Communist elements in the ranks of the Finnish comrades. Under the leadership of the Central Executive Committee, the Party has reorganized itself on the basis of shop and street nuclei; has abolished the Social Democratic language federation system; has adopted the Party's first Communist election platform; has worked out a Leninist anti-war platform; has laid the beginnings of mass work among the Negroes; farming masses, and the youth; in the face of terrific objective difficulties the Party has begun the actual organization of the unorganized and exercised strike leadership on a large scale. Above all, the Party has initiated and has been increasingly learning the practice of merciless self-criticism, of the errors of the Central Committee, of the errors of the entire Party. The Central Committee has consistently fought opportunist errors. Sharp self-criticism, notably of opportunist errors in the 1927 election campaigns, and in the trade union work of the Party, as evidenced in the unanimously adopted Thesis at the last February Plenum. The May Plenum resolution has severely condemned such opportunist Right wing errors as evidenced in the Finnish case, the open letter to the National Socialist Party, the resistance in Minnesota to the Party policy of fighting Shipstead, the manifestations of white chauvinism and such pacifist errors as the "ston the flood of blood" policy in our fight against American imperialism in Nicaragua.

An energetic policy against the Right danger and against tolerance of any of its manifestations, as well as a frank self-criticism, characterized the policy of the Party Delegation at the Sixth World Congress of the Comintern. Since the return of the delegation, the Party has intensified its fight against the Right danger, of which Trotskyism is today the crassest expression in the United States.

We repeat from the Central Executive Committee declaration of November 16:

"In the present international situation, the Right danger is the main danger within the Communist International and in its American section. The Right danger has its roots in the stabilization of capitalism and in the existence of reformism in the labor movement which retains its hold on large sections of the working class."

On the basis of the unqualified recognition of the fact that the Right danger is the chief danger today and that every Party must fight it as such, the Central Executive Committee has fully endorsed the position of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Party Conference of the Communist Party of Germany, in their fight against the Right danger and those who show tolerance of the Right.

Internationally, and in the Soviet Union, Trotskyism has been definitely defeated. The main danger facing the Comintern as a whole, is therefore no longer opportunism covering itself with Left phrases, but outright opportunism—outright Right wingism. Hence the resolution adopted by the Central Executive Committee on December 1, declared:

"Trotskyism—in over-estimating the capitalist forces, in advocating a policy of over-indus-

trualization, of breaking the alliance of the working class with the peasantry, in spreading disbelief in the possibility of building Socialism in one country—represents the 'Left' danger in the Soviet Union and leads to the restoration of capitalism. But after the decisive defeat of Trotskyism, organizationally as well as ideologically, the main danger today in the Soviet Union is outright opportunism, which underestimates the strength of the kulaks and Nepmen, refuses to see the intensification of the class struggle in the Soviet Union, demands the slowing down of industrialization, spreads skepticism about the possibility of the collectivization of agriculture—all of which means the disarming of the Communist Party and the working class before the class

enemy and increases the chances for the reestablishment of capitalism in the Soviet Union.

"Not only the interests of the working class of the Soviet Union but the interests of the international proletariat also demand an uncompromising struggle against Trotskyism, against outright opportunistic tendencies, and against all tolerance towards such tendencies, all conciliatory attempts to cover up and protect such outright opportunism."

But in the United States Trotskyism is not yet defeated. On the contrary, it is still a growing menace. The new Trotskyist outbreak in our ranks creates a grave situation for our Party. The renegade Cannon group is working overtime to split our Party. Its ideology today is openly counter-revolutionary, social democratic. The Trotskyist group around Cannon, Lore and Eastman, is an open ally of the capitalists, the government, the socialist party, the A. F. of L., in their efforts to wipe out the Communist Party. In its present outbreak against the United States, Trotskyism is the most composite and consistent system of opportunism. The platform of Trotskyism in the United States is today the rallying point of all Right wing elements within and outside our Party. The complete destruction of Trotskyism in our Party can be realized only through an uncompromising, relentless fight against every manifestation of the Right danger, through merciless self-criticism of all errors, of all mistakes made by the Central Executive Committee and by the Party as a whole; through a most thorough mobilization of all Party forces to isolate and annihilate the renegades, near-social democrats, liquidators and splitters.

In the United States, Trotskyism has never rallied to its banner any support from the Left. The very opposite has been the case. Whom has Trotskyism ever rallied to its support but the extreme Right wing elements in our Party? Look at this galaxy of opportunists who have flocked to Trotsky's Menshevik standard: Lore, who was condemned by the Fifth Congress and Fifth Plenum of the Comintern as a two-and-a-half internationalist and who was unanimously expelled by a Fourth Convention of our Party for his Right wing errors; Sulkanen, for years the symbol of the crassest opportunism in the ranks of our Finnish comrades; and lastly, Cannon, who resisted the expulsion of Sulkanen, who proposed the expulsion of five thousand Left workers from our Party because they did not immediately accept the proposals of the Central Executive Committee for the organization of an open Party. This is the same "Left" Cannon who was censured by the Fifth Congress of the Comintern:

"The comrades gathered around the other group, such as Comrades Hathaway and Cannon, have made a number of declarations which show that in their efforts to secure influence on the petty-bourgeoisie, they failed to maintain the Communist position."

The Comintern's characterization of Trotskyism, which began as a "Left" deviation and developed in its last stage into an out-and-out social democratic deviation has proven to be correct.

Thus, Comrade Stalin, at the October, 1927, Plenary meeting of the Central Committee and the Central Control Commission of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, said of Trotskyism:

"From Trotskyism to 'Menshevism' to the fundamental question of degeneration—that is the way of the Trotskyites in the last three years."

"The Trotskyites have changed. . . ."

And in his concluding speech at the Fifth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Comrade Stalin further said:

"Comrade Rakovsky maintains that the opposition is the Left wing of our Party. This would make a cat laugh. Such statements are evidently made to save the conscience of political bankrupts. It has been proven that the opposition is a Menshevik wing of our Party, that the opposition has degenerated into Menshevism, that the opposition has been objectively converted into an instrument of bourgeois elements."

At the same Congress, Comrade Bukharin said:

"The argument that an ultra-Left wing exists that stands to the Left of us, and of which Trotskyism is the embodiment, is exceedingly wrong."

Then the Ninth Plenum of the Comintern characterized Trotskyism in this fashion:

"All the worst elements of the working class movement, the openly opportunist elements in the Communist movement, all the little groups of renegades that were thrown out of the ranks of the Comintern, now rally around the Trotskyist platform of the fight against the Soviet Union, against the Communist Party of the Interna-

tional social democracy against the Communists. . . ."

Finally the Sixth World Congress of the Communist International thus estimated Trotskyism:

"The Trotsky group has degenerated to the standpoint of Menshevism in its attitude on program, political and organizational questions and has, objectively, become transformed into an organ of struggle against the Soviet power. . . ."

"The Congress considers it superfluous to discuss with enemies of the Comintern the counter-revolutionary political content of the Trotskyist platform after the combined membership of all Communist Parties has repeatedly and most emphatically rejected the standpoint of the Opposition."

Trotskyism as an ideology distinct from Leninism has its history. Sometimes it appeared as a more or less open ally of Menshevism, but in the main it appeared under the mask of ultra-left phrases. The first Trotskyist outbreak against Leninism was a "Leftist" deviation. In Germany, in Italy, in the Soviet Union it attracted towards the close of its first stage of development the adherence of ultra-left groups (Ruth Fisher, Bordiga, and remnants of the Workers' Opposition). But in the later and last stage of its evolution, Trotskyism arrived through the very logic of its being in the core always opportunistic in its ideology to outright opportunism, half social-democratic, near-Menshevik conclusions. Immediately before and soon after its expulsion, the Trotskyist group became a tool of the social democracy, the rallying center of all opportunist elements in the Comintern and an openly counter-revolutionary factor which objectively renders help to overthrow the Soviet government and aims at the destruction of the Comintern.

This is the history of the transformation of Trotskyism from a "Leftist" ideology (right deeds and Left phrases) to an outright opportunist, counter-revolutionary system. But, of course, only the mechanically minded can think that Trotskyism cannot occupy here and there even today in certain given situations, or in a given country, a Leftist position. Such is for example the case today in the Soviet Union. Trotskyism advocates today in Soviet Russia a program of over-industrialization which was correctly characterized by Comrade Stalin in his October 19th speech before the Plenum of the Moscow Committee as a Left deviation in contrast to the platform of the outright opportunists who advocate a platform of the slowing down of industrialization. But this concrete, single, ultra-left position of Trotskyism does not and cannot change the general characterization of Trotskyism on an international scale, or as an international phenomenon, as a counter-revolutionary tool of social-democracy, as a Menshevik flag of all Right elements as stated by Comrade Stalin and Bukharin, by the Convention of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the World Congress of the Comintern.

But in the face of all these characterizations, the Opposition within the Party still persists in arguing falsely that Trotskyism is a Left deviation today in the United States and that the policy of the Central Executive Committee on Trotskyism is in conflict with that of the Comintern. The Opposition in its December Third statement declares:

"In the present struggle against both the Right danger and against Trotskyism, the minority proposes that the Party shall follow the line laid down by the Communist International. The line adopted by the majority of the Central Committee of our Party and embodied in its statement is contrary to the Comintern on this question. . . ."

This is the point of view of the minority on the question. It is not the point of view of the Central Executive Committee which makes Trotskyism the main danger in the Party and obscures and weakens the struggle against the Right deviations and the Right danger."

If the Central Executive Committee has a different line on the Trotsky question than the C. I. has as the Opposition maintains, then why did the Comintern only a few days ago (November 30th) call upon the C. E. C. "to mobilize the whole Party" against Trotskyism? And if there was a slightest grain of truth in the Opposition's charge that the Central Executive Committee was conducting a weak fight against Trotskyism and the Right danger, why did the C. I. very recently endorse the vigorous measures taken by the Central Executive Committee against Trotskyism? What is more, if Trotskyism were not a serious menace to the Party, then why does the C. I. urge that the whole Party be mobilized to isolate and defeat Trotskyism?

Obviously, the viewpoints of the Comintern and the Opposition on the question of the estimate of the Right danger and Trotskyism are at variance. Either the Comintern is wrong or the Opposition is wrong. The Central Executive Committee unreservedly accepts the position of the Comintern and unqualifiedly rejects the policy of the Opposition in minimizing the Trotskyist menace and in misrepresenting Trotskyism in

Continued on next page

PARTY PRE-CONVENTION DISCUSSION SECTION

Continued from Previous Page
the United States today as a Left deviation.

In our fight against the Right danger and its crassest manifestation, Trotskyism, the Central Executive Committee is guided by the following policy:

(1) "Leading and responsible Party members and non-proletarian elements who consciously adopt the position of Trotskyism and support Cannon should be expelled from the Party."

(2) "Rank and file proletarian elements, who evidence lack of clarity on the issue and hesitate on it, shall be patiently and persistently argued with and persuaded to the correct position on the question in order to win them away from Trotskyism and whatever sympathy they may have for the Cannon opposition, but if any of these proletarian elements actively organize for Trotsky, they should be expelled from the Party."

"That all District Organizers be instructed to refer final action against those declaring for Cannon and Trotskyism to the Central Executive Committee, and the Central Committee shall decide in each case on the basis of its merits."

Persuasion and not persecution is the policy of the Central Executive Committee insofar as proletarian rank and file elements are concerned. The main fire of the Central Executive Committee is concentrated on the conscious opportunists, whether they appear openly as such or whether they still camouflage their reformism with Left phrases in the fashion of Trotskyism."

The Dilemma of the Opposition.
The Opposition within the Party is faced with a terrible dilemma. It charges the Central Executive Committee with pursuing a policy:

"Which makes Trotskyism the main danger of the Party and obscures and weakens the struggle against the Right deviations and the Right danger."

Here we have more confusion in the policy of the Opposition. The very contrary is the case. When the Opposition declares that Trotskyism is a Left danger and the Central Executive Committee is the main danger, they are the ones who weaken and undermine the fight against Trotskyism. The Trotskyist danger is today the danger of a split. A member of the Political Committee, several members of the Central Executive Committee of the Party, and of the National Executive Committee of the Young Workers (Communist) League, have already espoused Trotskyism. The Cannonites already have two papers in English against the Party. Trotskyism has a daily German organ and a Hungarian weekly. Lore, Eastman and the bourgeois press are working feverishly to help Trotskyism in its attacks on the Party.

Consequently, the fight against Trotskyism must be conducted under the leadership of the Central Executive Committee. Any other attitude is the negation of the very basis of a Communist Party. If the Central Executive Committee is the main danger, as the Opposition contends, how can any Communist Party member fight to expel Trotskyism who help to fight against the Central Executive Committee? Again, if Trotskyism is Left—as the Opposition insists—and if Trotskyism means a split, as is obvious—then the main fight would have to be conducted against the Left. This would mean a weakening of the fight against the Right danger. But the Opposition holds that the Right danger is the main danger, and that Trotskyism is a Left danger. Thus, the wrong tactic, confused analysis and factional blindness of the Opposition serve only to weaken the fight against the Right danger and its crassest manifestation, Trotskyism.

Clearly, the position of the Central Executive Committee is correct when it declares that the main danger is the Right danger and that Trotskyism is the most consistent summing up and rallying center of the Right danger. Therefore, in accordance with the policy of the Central Executive Committee there is no contradiction between the fight against the Right danger and the fight against the Right danger. To intensify the fight against the Right danger means to intensify the fight against Trotskyism. To intensify the fight against Trotskyism means to hasten the liquidation of the Right danger.

What is the difference in our Party, if any, between the Trotskyist brand of opportunism and the outright opportunism which is separate from Trotskyist ideology? There is a difference. It would be erroneous to identify the one with the other.

Trotskyism is that species of opportunism which is characterized by the following three specific features: First, ultra-Leftist beginnings; second, certain special features growing out of the specific conditions of the Russian Revolution; third, certain international aspects, in that, in the first period of its evolution it attracted many ultra-left elements of the Comintern. Our "made in America" brand of opportunism does not have these features but it has its own special characteristics growing out of the concrete conditions of this country. Among other things these characteristics are: one, its roots are in the world hegemony of American imperialism; second, its

social basis is the influence of the labor aristocracy upon our Party; third, its nihilistic attitude towards Marxism and theory in general or a revisionist evaluation of Marxism.

The Party and Its Work.
Constructive criticism of the Party, its leadership, its policies, is not only the order of the day but is most welcome. This, however, should not be taken as a license for confusion and misrepresentation. Precisely, the latter is the practice of the Opposition. In its December Third declaration it states:

"The experiences of our own Party show that the Right line and orientation of our Central Committee is chiefly responsible for the slow growth of our Party and for its inability to make full use of the favorable factors in the present situation to develop a revolutionary consciousness and struggle among the toiling masses."

Then, this document proceeds to charge the Central Executive Committee with "fresh Right errors in recent weeks." Chief among these alleged "Right errors" are to be found in the supposed failure to assume leadership in local mine strikes, to help the Trade Union Educational League, to help build the next textile union, "failure to connect the parliamentary struggle with the economic struggle of the workers," and a whole series of other failures everywhere. This accusation is thus summed up:

"These tendencies which constitute the line of the Central Committee of our Party, have the effect of paralyzing the fighting ability of the Party, retarding its activities for developing mass struggle and mass organizations, and hence are weakening the working class and strengthening its enemies."

What does this charge mean? It means that the Central Executive Committee with its policies is weakening the working class and strengthening the bourgeoisie. In other words, the Central Executive Committee of our Party, according to the Opposition, is a counter-revolutionary factor. Such an attack was never before made in the history of our Party.

This is not criticism. This is exactly the line of attack launched against the Central Executive Committee and the Party by the Trotskyist Cannon and Company. This is the logical result of the common platform of Foster, Bittelman and the Trotskyist faction, the National Textile Workers Union, a real, living organization in Paterson and in other textile centers. The Opposition knows that the Central Executive Committee has been taking the most resolute measures to help the T. U. E. L.

The most crushing proof of the utter baselessness of these accusations of the Opposition is shown in its condemnation of the Party's election campaign. Even the worst enemies of the Party admitted that the election campaign was the biggest and most vigorous campaign our Party ever conducted. It is true the Party election campaign had many shortcomings. Many grievous errors were made in its course (California). But throughout the election campaign the Opposition evidenced its total political impotence. The Opposition did not make a single motion for the strengthening or improvement of the election campaign. In fact, certain districts even witnessed Opposition supporters perpetrating Right errors, thru capitulation before difficulties—Comrade Levine in San Francisco—and ex-Comrades V. R. Dunne, Skoglund and others through sabotage of the Party's campaign against Shipstead in Minnesota.

The Opposition's estimate of the Central Executive Committee is the only replica of the estimate of the Central Executive Committee and the Party made by Cannon and Company. The methods of both these camps of hostility to the Central Executive Committee are identical—belittling, misrepresenting and never saying a word in the slightest recognition of the Party's achievements.

Compare the tone and methods of criticism of the Central Executive Committee resorted to by the Opposition within the Party and the Trotskyist Cannon Company, on the one hand, with the constructively critical tone and method of the C. I. on the other hand. We quote from the decision on the American question adopted by the Sixth World Congress:

"The Workers (Communist) Party of America has displayed more lively activity and has taken advantage of symptoms of crisis in American industry, the growth of unemployment (due to the extremely rapid rise in the organic composition of capital and in the technique of production). A number of stubborn and fierce class battles (primarily the miners' strike) found in the Communist Party a stalwart leader. The campaign against the execution of Sacco and Vanzetti was also conducted under the

leadership of the Party, which is observed a weakening of the long-standing factional struggle. While recording successes, however, reference must be made to a number of Right mistakes committed in regard to the socialist party, to the fact that the Party has not with sufficient energy conducted work in the organization of the unorganized and for the organization of the Negro movement, and that it does not conduct a sufficiently strong struggle against the predatory policy of the United States in Latin America. These mistakes, however, cannot be ascribed to the majority leadership alone."

Note the vast difference. We accept unreservedly the estimate of the C. I. We are certain that in choosing between these estimates of the Party by the Opposition and the C. I., the membership will unhesitatingly and decisively select for its platform the decisions of the Comintern and not the platform of the Opposition—whether it be united or divided.

The line of the Opposition, at least insofar as the American Party is concerned, is clearly in conflict with the line of the C. I. No matter how often the Opposition may proclaim in words its acceptance of the Comintern line, it will be in deed against the line of the C. I. until it completely drops its reservations towards the decisions of the Comintern on the estimate of American imperialism, of radicalization, and of the Central Executive Committee.

High Times To Unite All Communist Forces.

It is high time that all Communist forces should close their ranks to fight energetically the Right danger and its crassest expression—Trotskyism. The charge made by the Opposition that the Central Executive Committee "attempts to brand the entire minority as being Trotskyites and against the Comintern" is without the faintest foundation in fact. In its statement of November 16th, the Central Executive Committee expressly declared:

"The CEC declares most vigorously against any attempt to dub the comrades of the Opposition as Trotskyites. The CEC warns every Party comrade against such mistakes."

In the convention arrangements, the Central Executive Committee made every concession to the Opposition. Equal time and equal Party press space is being granted to the Opposition. The CEC also adopted the following as its policy guiding the Party discussion:

"The Polcom desires to organize the freest possible discussion throughout the whole Party, giving full possibilities to the minority to present its views before the entire Party membership and gives all guarantees for fair and adequate arrangements in all matters concerning the Party convention."

"That the discussion be conducted on the freest possible basis, giving all possible opportunities to comrades in the Opposition to the Central Executive Committee, solely limited by the statutes of the Comintern and within the principles of Communism."

A most serious obstacle to the unification of all Communist forces for an effective fight against the Right danger and its most consistent and complete expression, Trotskyism, is the continued insistence of the Opposition to fight the decision of the Communist International relative to the estimation of the world position of American imperialism, radicalization, and the estimate of the Central Executive Committee. The C. I. categorically declared that:

"The charge against the majority of the Central Committee of the Party of representing a Right line is unfounded."

The Opposition must unreservedly accept the decisions of the Comintern. Solely on the basis and in full acceptance of the decisions of the Comintern, the Central Executive Committee on November 3rd, made a further energetic effort to secure complete unification of all Communist forces in order to crush the Right danger and its worst outbreak in our Party, Trotskyism. The Central Executive Committee then declared:

"The unity of all Communist forces against the Right danger and the growing Trotskyist menace is imperative. The Political Committee calls upon all comrades who are today in opposition to the Central Executive Committee and carry on a factional struggle against the Party leadership to unite with the Central Executive Committee."

tee in its struggle against the Right danger and Trotskyism.

"The Political Committee calls first of all upon those of its own membership who stick to their reservations to the World Thesis of the Sixth Congress of the Comintern to drop these reservations and accept fully the line of the Comintern. The Political Committee calls upon the leadership of the Opposition within the Party to stop the factional struggle against the Central Executive Committee for which, as the World Thesis of the Comintern Congress stated, there is today no basis founded on principles,

and drop their charge against the Central Executive Committee as a Right group with Right policies, which charge, as the ECCI stated, is unfounded, and unite with the Central Executive Committee against Trotskyism and the Right danger. The Party has a right to demand from all leaders of the Opposition within the Party to declare publicly that, in view of the Right danger and the growing menace of Trotskyism, they are willing to fight the Right danger and its crassest expression, Trotskyism, as the main danger, and will not concentrate their attacks against the Central Executive Committee of

the Party, which is the only legitimate leadership of the Party, and which considers its foremost duty the unrelenting, uncompromising fight against the Right danger and Trotskyism."

"The Political Committee expresses its most sincere wish to unite all forces of the Party against the Trotskyist Cannon group, which, with the help of the renegade groups outside the Party and the Social Democrats and the capitalist press, aims at the destruction of our Party. The Political Committee declares its willingness to investigate and remedy all grievances,

to eliminate all friction and misunderstandings, to bring about real comradeship and cooperation and team-work to go as far as possible in the interests of the Party as a whole to reach unity with the present Opposition within the Party. The basis of this unity can only be the full acceptance of all decisions of the World Congress of the Comintern, the endorsement of the line of the Communist International without any reservations, the uncompromising struggle against the Trotskyist Cannon group and the Right danger without the slightest manifestations of tolerance.

"The Political Committee calls upon the comrades in opposition to join the leadership of the Party and to draft a joint thesis which accepts as its basis the estimation of the Comintern Congress on American imperialism and the radicalization of the American working class, which gives up the fight against the present leadership of the Party as a Right group with Right policies, which concentrates its struggle against Trotskyism and the Right danger. The drafting of a joint thesis and the defense of the line of the Comintern do not exclude, of course, the legitimate fight of the Opposition for the majority in the election of delegates to the Party Convention or any criticism of any actions or decisions of the C. E. C.

"Unity in the defense of the Party against the Right danger and Trotskyism includes, as a matter of course, the most thorough self-criticism, the most extended freedom of discussion

on the basis of Communist principles and of the decisions of the Communist International, but must exclude the advocacy of destructive and counter-revolutionary views of Trotskyism."

With the rejection of this proposal of the Central Executive Committee the Opposition declared that it finds it to be perfectly in order to have a common American platform with Cannon against the Central Executive Committee, but finds it impossible to have a common platform with the Central Executive Committee against Cannon.

The Central Executive Committee, however, can only reaffirm its policy with all the emphasis and vigor at its command.

No unprincipled factionalism! Away with the slightest tolerance of any manifestation of the Right danger!

For a finish fight against the Right danger!

Out with all those still in our Party ranks who follow the counter-revolutionary, social democratic, deviations of Trotskyism!

For a unified, mass Bolshevik Party in the United States!

For the Communist International and the unreserved acceptance of its decisions!

Let's unite to beat back the sharpening attacks of capitalist and renegade enemies of our Party!

Only Bolshevik unity, Party loyalty, and iron Leninist discipline can build our Party and smash the ring of enemies encircling us in the face of the growing danger of imperialist war!

—CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE WORKERS (COMMUNIST) PARTY OF AMERICA.

IMPROVE ON SINCLAIR

New Playwrights Present Best Performance of Their Career

UPTON SINCLAIR'S "Singing Jailbirds" is not only the New Playwrights' latest production but its best. The scenery is peculiarly suitable to a theme which has so much of fantasy and delirium in it; Manuel Esman has succeeded, by the use of suggestion in giving the illusion that a few widely spaced black-painted timbers are a steel tank in San Pedro jail, that a circular bird cage of cables is an underground dungeon. Some improvement in technique is still needed; it is not conducive to the proper spirit of appreciation in the audience to have Red Adams look up into the sudden white glare of a concentrated spot light and remark, "It's dark as hell" as he does in almost his first scene of the second act.

As the District Attorney, Edmund Forde is at his best in the burlesque cabaret scene, but here, because the table is set in the orchestra, he wears too much make up. Perhaps different lighting would help.

The most important defect of a merely technical nature, is of course, that the actors don't, absolutely do not, know how to sing wobbly songs, as the song plays its role in the drama, gives it its title, "Solidarity Forever," "California Prison Song," "Long Haired Preachers," "Scissors Bill" and, in fact, all of the I. W. W. songs have distinct tunes which the actors in "Singing Jailbirds" never seem to have heard. The cast last night spoke them, rather than sang them, jazzi, and much too fast, and spoiled the effect. Probably also the songs lacked some of the fervor of conviction which the real thing has.

But after all, this is New York and not San Pedro or Seattle, and the production is so much better than anyone had a right to expect after a reading of Sinclair's original that it may not be fair to quibble over minor defects.

Sinclair frankly admits that his play was based on the San Pedro waterfront strike of 1923. This was almost the last real organized effort of the I. W. W. in America, unless one counts the Colorado strike, which was not a typical wobbly strike, but an uprising of miners in a company union, and revolting unionism, the first outside leadership that came along. The San Pedro strike, the imprisonment of 600 singing strikers, the attempt to stop their singing by shutting off the air and turning on the steam in the jail, the solitary for some of the men, criminal syndicalism persecution for others, the complete subservience of Police Captain Plummer and the district attorney's office to the Shipowners' Association, all were as represented in the play.

The undaunted militancy of the men, singing and defiant, is true to life. Unfortunately, it is also true to the theories prevalent in the delirious period of the I. W. W., already set in by the year 1923; that Red Adams could make the statement to the district attorney, "You know we never try to get away, you only have to tap us on the shoulder" (to fill the jails with strike leaders).

After the first act, which deals with the masses, come two more which are concentrated on Red Adams' personal sufferings in solitary, and scenes indicating his delirium there. In the original it was three more acts. Em Jo Basche, director of the New Playwrights, is to be congratulated on having cut out the spiritualistic scenes in which Red's ghost converses with his fellow workers in the jungle, nearly so. The ghost appears in the back stage, but attention is concentrated on Red in the hole, and the thing appears clearly as a delirium picture, and loses the original supernatural tinge. Parts of Sinclair's last act are sandwiched into the preceding ones, even into the first, with good effect.

The two last acts as played include Red's romance, the story of

the wife who died thru ignorance of birth control knowledge, and intimate that it is Red's feeling of guilt in this connection which causes him to so readily break down in solitary (hallucinations after only two days). They contain the roadhouse scene where the district attorney flaunts his persecution of the strikers to his stenographer-concubine, and drunkenly boasts that in return he "gets his" champagne, squabs en casserole, and whatever else he wants. "We, the owners," he says to Red, in Red's fantasy, "we know how to stand together all right. We make our will into law, and you obey it. You show your muscles in the slave markets—or your pretty faces in the roadhouses—and we buy you. We're the masters."

Then comes the stool pigeon scene, when the "cutor" boasts of buying up most of the "executive committee" (just what committee is doubtful, Sinclair never would learn technical terminology) and the trial scene, much modified from the original, but mighty good, probably better than it would have been with Sinclair's bulls and tigers. There are only the hayseed judge, the "cutor" the bailiff with the doll jurors strapped on his back, and "Jack in the box," the assigned counsel for the defense. True in spirit however fantastic in detail, to a superior court of the state of California. Herbert T. Bergman, as the judge, deserves special mention. Then days of delirium, with Sinclair in unusual bad taste even for him, injecting one of his dietetic fads, even here. Red Adams, he would have you think, goes on hunger strike because in the dungeon they feed him white bread! And he wants health bread!

Then the second most effective scene in the play, Red Adams dies, still delirious, and with the rats eating his eyes even before he is dead. The most effective scene, I should say, is the end of the first act, with the tank full of men, singing as they gasp, one by one fainting from heat and lack of air.

Well, there you have the play, better than Sinclair, but still primarily Sinclairish, a humanitarian revolt against the brutality of master class rule. I hope that Upton is still alive when the class war reaches the next stage, and the real white terror comes down, for which San Pedro was only a subdued rehearsal.

"Singing Jailbirds" is a drama of protest, it is not revolutionary. The whole line of "fight the jail" the whole martyr philosophy which in the last days of the I. W. W. as a force in the American labor movement did so much to destroy it, the whole pacifism and hysteria of non-resistance, the idea that the I. W. W. is a new religion with its martyrs and saints, with a set of magic formulas, with the G. E. B. in the place of Christ's twelve apostles, ideas against which the old time, militant wobbles were fighting within their organization at the very period in which "Singing Jailbirds" was written, was by Sinclair seized upon, and given clearer expression, more dramatic appeal. The New Playwrights soften this appeal, discard some of the specious argument, but cannot get rid of it altogether. Piscator's reported approval to the contrary notwithstanding, "Singing Jailbirds" is bad

Rothstein Papers Show Tammany Police Gift, Also Protected Dope

George McManus was arraigned yesterday for the murder of Arnold Rothstein, and in continuation of the policy followed thruout the case by the police department and district attorney's office, Judge Mankus allowed his attorneys 15 days in which to file motions, after a plea of "not guilty." This is an unusually long time to allow for motions.

Rothstein's personal files, after being rifled and looted by persons unknown to the general public at least, during the several days the police allowed them to lie around open before they were impounded for the grand jury, are still said to have enough information in them to implicate several New York policemen as taking graft from Rothstein, to connect the dead gambler with the oft-mentioned billion dollar protected drug smuggling ring.

propaganda, except in its purely negative aspects, as a criticism of the system.

Red Adams, so beautifully acted by Grover Burgess, is an unfortunate with deep emotionally charged mental injuries; he breaks in solitary in increasing numbers, and the no man can say how he will react when his turn comes, 99 out of every 100 in the past did not break down mentally even though ruined physically by literally years of "the hole." Militant workers are, and must be, in general harder than Red Adams was. To make the play turn so much around Adam's particular mental conflict assists those sneering critics who regard all radicals as freaks anyway, people to be cured by psycho-analysis instead of changes in the social structure.

—VERN SMITH.

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The Textile Strike in Rhode Island

The strike of the 350 textile workers in the Parker Mills in the Pawtucket Valley in Rhode Island should be the signal for a general strike throughout both the Blackstone and Pawtucket valleys. For many months there have been wage cuts following upon wage cuts. In the Parker mill where wages are so low that the bosses feared another cut would evoke a strike, a vicious blow was struck at the workers by the announcement of the immediate inauguration of the 53-hour week in place of the 48-hour week, without any change in wages.

In these mill valleys of Rhode Island the officials of the United Textile Workers Union, affiliated with the A. F. of L. have been busy in their familiar role of aiding the mill barons put through wage cuts, the speed-up and lengthening of hours of labor.

At this moment, when the mills are beginning work on spring goods, the workers in all the mills should seize the opportunity to strike for the purpose of resisting the arrogant drive of the bosses and establishing their union. The workers in every mill should instantly go out in sympathy with the Parker mills strikers. To fail to aid these strikers and permit them to be defeated would only be an invitation to every textile mill owner to slash wages further and increase hours, which will only result in further unemployment.

First and foremost, in entering the struggle the textile workers should avoid any contact with the treacherous United Textile Workers Union, which is merely a company union for the employers. There is but one union in the textile industry that fights in the interest of the working class and that is the National Textile Workers Union, born out of the struggle of textile workers in Passaic, Paterson, New Bedford and other places.

Rhode Island textile workers! Make the strike general!

Join the National Textile Workers Union! Defeat the wage cuts and lengthening of hours!

Establish the union in the two valleys and fight for union wages and conditions!

Captain Paxton Hibben

Captain Paxton Hibben, who died Wednesday at the age of 48 was prominently known to Communists and friends of Soviet Russia because of his many years of effective work for recognition of the government of workers and peasants.

Captain Hibben, despite the opinions of the jingoes and imperialists to the contrary, was not a Communist. In the early years of his life he was successful as diplomat, author and soldier. His diplomatic career began as secretary to the American embassies in Petrograd (now Leningrad). Later he served in a similar capacity in Mexico City. He also served in a diplomatic capacity in other Latin American countries, besides serving at the Hague tribunal. During the war he was a lieutenant in the field artillery, later being promoted to a captaincy.

At the conclusion of the war he was engaged in relief work in the Near East and in the Soviet Union. It was during his activity in the land of the former czars that he became an advocate of recognition of and trade relations with the Soviet government. On his return to the United States he engaged publicly in the campaign for famine relief.

Captain Hibben's work in behalf of recognition of the Soviet Union was not prompted by motives that by any stretch of the imagination could be considered as a general defense of the class struggle. His actions were predicated upon reverence for old American traditions; the literal acceptance of the declaration of independence, and the state papers of Thomas Jefferson regarding the recognition by the young republic of America of the revolutionary republic of France, which held that a government established by the revolutionary action of the people was entitled to recognition by the United States. In his many speeches and writings, Captain Hibben emphasized those early traditions and heaped ridicule upon the utterances of such special pleaders as Charles Evans Hughes, Frank B. Kellogg and others who perverted the policies of the revolutionary founders of the republic into apologies for imperialist aggression. It was this attitude of his, the fact that he still defended, in this period of imperialist frightfulness, the ideals of the infancy of the republic, that brought Captain Hibben into open conflict with the military authorities and prevented his promotion in the ranks of the reserve forces of the United States army. He was attacked by the 100 percenters in the imperialist army of the United States as a Bolshevik, although his real principles which

he was defending were those of a past era. The policies enunciated by Jefferson were so strange to the ears of Hibben's vicious and ignorant prosecutors that they could not tell the difference between them and Bolshevism.

The past few years of Captain Hibben's life were spent in literary pursuits, which he put aside during the Sacco and Vanzetti campaign to go to Boston and participate in the demonstrations against Fuller and his associated murderers.

Captain Hibben's death removes from American political life one of the few upholders of the old traditions of this country. He aided in exposing the malignant character of the agents of imperialism today without, however, realizing that the course of history is not back to the declaration of independence but forward to a higher form of society and that it is the revolutionary working class whose historic mission it is to deliver the death blow to the tyrannies of today.

Hooverizing the Newspapers

Announcement was made yesterday of the perfection of a process by which type can be set in an unlimited number of printing offices in response to the operation of a typewriter keyboard by one person. This invention, when in general operation, will make it possible for an agency to write news in New York and have it transmitted almost simultaneously to typesetting machines in Chicago or San Francisco, thus doing away with news editing as well as operators of the typesetting machines. Any number of typesetting machines can be operated from the one typewriter keyboard. The finished product can be in any size type or any width of line desired.

This particular invention is the achievement of Walter J. Morey of East Orange, N. J., and was yesterday put to a practical test in Rochester, N. Y., by the Frank E. Gannett string of newspapers.

The mechanics of the new invention are quite generally familiar to all engaged in the production of newspapers. The typesetting machines are operated on the same principle of electrical control used to operate the teletype machines used in all newspaper offices receiving service from news gathering agencies—the machine that took the places of the telegraph operators that used to be in every daily newspaper office.

Such an invention a half a century ago would by no means have had the effect that it has today. In fact it would hardly be worth manufacturing for the simple reason that newspapers then were organs of opinion. No two great papers in any part of the country were alike. Articles appearing in Horace Greeley's New York Tribune would be of no use to Henry Watterson's Louisville Courier-Journal. Each newspaper spoke for some particular social or economic group, each one of them represented some shade of political opinion.

But today, under Hooverism, such an invention is useful. At a time when imperialism has produced the nation-wide chains of newspapers, all publishing identically the same material, all serving the same predatory interests, when no class that stands between the imperialists and the working class has sufficient vitality to lead an independent political existence, an invention such as the "teletypesetter," fills a definite demand. It is a sign of the times.

Its immediate effect upon the labor movement can be seen when we consider the fact that it will displace thousands of skilled linotype operators. One machinist can take care of five machines operated mechanically. That means that one man can do the work formerly done by six in the composing rooms. When the printing trades unions, even today, are faced with serious unemployment problems, and under a leadership that is more concerned about the interests of the publishers than the workers, it can readily be seen that revolutionary changes must take place or the organization of labor will be destroyed. More than ever will it be essential as a prerequisite for existence that the unions be consolidated into a powerful industrial union and that militant leadership replace the present reactionary and traitorous bureaucrats.

Correction

In one of the editorials in yesterday's edition it was stated that Hoover that day visited Chile, when as a matter of fact he visited Peru and stopped at Oñate the next day. Throughout the editorial the name Chile was substituted for Peru. But the economic facts, i. e., the reference to copper and nitrates and to the struggle between American and English capital were correct as applied to Chile. This error was due to the fact that the editorial writer, because of other duties requiring that he be absent from the office did not get the printer's proof.

A NEW BURDEN



Achievements of the Cultural Relations

By A. LUNACHARSKY.

The slogan of a "Cultural Revolution" was most emphatically proclaimed at the XV Party Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, but it is no novelty for the Communist mentality.

Lenin on Culture in U. S. S. R.

Lenin frequently expressed his ideas on the subject and declared in his famous theses that the chief and only obstacle in the way of Socialism in the territory of our Soviet Union lies in the low cultural level of the masses. If this level is sufficiently raised, so Lenin assumes, nothing more would stand in the way of the realization of our Socialist aims.

True, Lenin immediately went on to declare that culture itself costs money and that the provision of sufficient means for the cultural work in the country can—in view of the great demands made by the revolution—only be attained by further achievements of our economy and a further growth of our budget.

At times we encounter the fortunately not very widely-spread opinion that these reflections on the part of Lenin are not a direct proof that he considered the construction of Socialism possible in a country and wished to underline the immense importance of the fundamental pre-requisite, in the shape of a high cultural level; on the contrary, the relative passage is interpreted as follows: Seeing that we are culturally backward and that our economy is backward and does not provide sufficient means for culture, we should harbor no illusions regarding the construction of Socialism. It is hard to imagine a cruder distortion of the leading ideas of Lenin.

Meanwhile, however, practice has made clear the real sense of this idea even to such circles of economy as allow immediate economic needs to blind them to the requirements of the so-called "third front," i. e. the cultural struggle. At the XV Party Congress all the leaders of the Party with the full support of the Congress itself, declared what was subsequently reflected in the corresponding resolutions, viz. that, in comparison, let us say, with the growth of our industry, our cultural development is in a backward position and that it is necessary that lost ground should be caught up with on this front and that our culture must be developed at a "revolutionary" rate if an uninterrupted development of the industry of our country and an improvement of our agriculture and its transformation into a collective agriculture are to be ensured.

Cultural Budget Increasing.

The budget of popular education increased in the course of this year (I speak of basic figures, as the details are not yet known) by 40 per cent as regards its central, government section. It must, however, be pointed out at once that this increase in the budget was made to a considerable extent for the sake of higher technical institutions and industrial high schools. If this sort of growth of the budget appears (as is evident at first sight, seeing that the other branches of the cultural campaign make relatively smaller progress), the first impression must not engender the opinion that our development is actually one-sided. For surely the tasks of industrialization are our foremost tasks. The misproportion between the training of the specialists needed for industry and the general growth of economy was quite obvious. There can be no doubt but that in the near future—in the next few budgets, at any rate—agricultural education, followed by other forms of education, will receive due attention.

New Type of Education; Proletarian Theater and Literature

In the present year the budgets of the municipalities can provide but little for cultural purposes, seeing that the present year is an extraordinary difficult one. But it cannot be denied that the local organizations, too, have done much to put through the principles announced by the Party.

Illiteracy Being Reduced.

A second presumption for the realization of the slogan of a cultural revolution should be a widespread and general movement in the circles of the Party, of the young generation, of the trade-union organizations, the various cultural organizations, and among the population in general.

Recently such a movement has been clearly apparent. Thus of late years the attention paid to the liquidation of illiteracy among adults has fallen off regrettably. Now we can again see an increase of attention to this task; the trade unions and cooperatives have set aside substantial sums out of their cultural funds for this purpose and a whole number of organizations in the provinces and in the Moscow district have set themselves the task of a rapid and complete liquidation of illiteracy. Finally, the young generation recently started and carried through a big campaign, known as the "campaign of culture" and is preparing Sunday work throughout the country on behalf of the schools.

Education Growing.

The growing attention paid to cultural work is everywhere decidedly noticeable. "Contribute to education" is now one of the daily demands whenever the workers come into immediate touch with the government.

The urge towards knowledge, which has at all times been strong, is more and more enhanced. The independent initiative of the population in this connection cannot be doubted for a moment. In the circles connected with the People's Commissariat for Education the laudable idea has arisen, that large funds be provided next year in support of cultural work, funds which would find their basis in collections among the population.

Naturally far too short a time has elapsed since the XV Party Congress for the achievements of the cultural revolution to be available in detail, with reference to last year. I intend rather to give a general characterization of the achievement of the cultural revolution during all the ten years, for the XV Party Congress merely represented an accentuation of the class character apparent in our cultural development, but not the beginning of our cultural creation itself.

On the contrary, I was already in a position to speak of our achievements in this direction on the occasion of my report at the last session of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Union on the tenth anniversary of the revolution. The said session then expressed in a special resolution how far we still are from our objective, and from the satisfaction of the requirements of the population, but how far we have nevertheless progressed along certain lines of cultural development.

Elementary Schools.

In respect to elementary education which is effected in this country by the four-grade primary schools attended by children between the ages of eight and twelve, we may compare the following figures: Before the war there were in the whole

country 104,000 schools; now there are 150,000. But our success lies not so much in the number of the schools as in the number of children frequenting them. In this respect we can record an increase of 45 per cent, for in the current year 10,500,000 children are being taught as against 7,200,000 before the war. The percentage of children taught in the elementary schools has increased by at least 20 or 25 per cent.

The government has worked out a plan for general compulsory education in the four-grade elementary schools, which will affect the first grade, i. e. the children of eight years of age, in the course of the school-year 1932-33. At Moscow, Leningrad, Ivanovo-Voznesensk, in the Crimea, in Georgia, and in the Kama district, almost 100 per cent of all children are comprised in the educational system. In other regions the situation is less favorable; in the Republic of Daghestan, e. g., only 25 per cent of the children are included. It must be pointed out that no effort is being spared to widen the educational system and to comprise the children of such republics as are inhabited by undeveloped nationalities.

Secondary Schools.

With regard to the secondary schools we may witness the same development. Before the war there were 1780 such higher schools for general education (high schools and academies). We now have 1811 such schools, no very great number, especially if it is remembered that on the influence of the first great revolutionary enthusiasm in 1920 we increased the number of these schools to 4163, a figure which exceeded our capabilities, as regards both the financial means required and the qualified teachers. If we transfer our attention to such figures as reflect the increase in the number of pupils, we can record a more satisfactory result. Before the war these higher schools comprised 664,000 pupils. At the time of the great enthusiasm just after the revolution the number rose only to 569,000. Now we have a total of 889,000, that is to say, an increase of more than 50 per cent.

It must be added that very great progress has been made in the direction of vocational schools. In pre-war Russia there were some 3900 such establishments. In the current year the R. S. F. S. R. alone comprises almost 6000 schools of this type, so that the total may be said to have doubled. With regard to the number of pupils the result is still better. In the ten years since the revolution the number of pupils in the vocational schools has advanced from 266,000 to 638,000.

Less satisfactory conditions obtain as regards the remuneration of the teachers and the available funds for the requirements of the schools. Our budget is still poor, but we expect it to increase rapidly during the next few years.

New Type of Education.

More figures, however, do not give a proper conception of the actual growth of our schools, whether primary, secondary, or vocational. The aims and objects of our schools are directed opposite to those of the schools under the czarist regime. A great deal has been done in the direction of the complete methodical, pedagogic transformation of the schools, their social composition has been changed, the former material has been replaced by altogether different elements, and our schools have been brought nearer to the ideal of a uniform, technical, working school. It is not possible to enumerate the achievements effected in this direction in a short article. Celebrated foreign pedagogues who have visited us have delineated them in full.

Creative work in the schools is being continued. The increasing means and the growing attention of the Party, of the young generation, and of the entire Soviet public, together with the growing care of the economists for the enlightenment of the population, provide the possibility of making big strides forward in the course of the next few years.

In regard to schools, increased attention is being paid to the seven-grade working schools. In the school-year 1932-33, simultaneously with the introduction of compulsory education, especially as regards the rural districts, all the municipalities thickly inhabited by the proletariat will be provided with such seven-grade schools. These schools will have a decidedly industrialized character and will approach that type of proletarian school which was roughly outlined by the hand of Marx.

Colleges and Universities.

Colossal changes have also been brought about by the revolution in regard to the colleges. The social composition of the student staff has completely changed, now consisting to 70 per cent of workers and peasants. A new type of colleges has been established which did not exist before the war and which enables the workers to acquire the most essential knowledge in four years, sufficient to qualify them for a college composition of the student staff has completely changed, now consisting to 70 per cent of workers and peasants. A new type of colleges has been established which did not exist before the war and which enables the workers to acquire the most essential knowledge in four years, sufficient to qualify them for a college composition of the student staff has completely changed, now consisting to 70 per cent of workers and peasants. A new type of colleges has been established which did not exist before the war and which enables the workers to acquire the most essential knowledge in four years, sufficient to qualify them for a college composition of the student staff has completely changed, now consisting to 70 per cent of workers and peasants.

In the whole Soviet Union there are 120 colleges as against 91 before the war. A growth of more than 40 per cent. The number of students has meanwhile advanced by more than 25 per cent, from 124,000 to 157,000. In this connection it must be remarked that the 124,000 students of pre-war times were recruited exclusively from the privileged classes of society, including at most the poor intelligentsia. At present our students derive mainly from worker and peasant families. It is obvious that such a change called for the provision of great sums for the support of our students.

Great interest to certain types of schools, such as the schools of the young peasants (of which there are now more than 500), training the peasants, in particular for the collectivization of agriculture, and the working schools for apprentices, which have become (and will, it is hoped, remain) the most important institutions for the training of the main cadres of the working class and which approaches the Marxian type of a proletarian school.

To Be Continued

3 Workers Play Into Open-Shoppers Hands in Anti-Trust Case

CHICAGO, Dec. 6.—Playing into the hands of the capitalist courts and the open-shoppers, three members of the Glaziers Union, who are dominated by reactionaries, entered pleas of guilty to charges of violating the Sherman Anti-Trust Law in federal court today.

The action of the three workers thus sets up a precedent which paves the way for future attacks

Misleaders in the American Labor Unions

By WILLIAM Z. FOSTER

Following "Skinny" Madden came Simon O'Donnell as head of the 80,000 organized Chicago Building Trades Workers. O'Donnell was a pupil of the master faker, Madden. While a policeman in 1901 he became business agent of the Plumbers' Union. For several months he drew salaries from both jobs. A bold and unscrupulous type, O'Donnell soon forced his way to the front. He became president of the Building Trades Council, where he remained till 1920, when he resigned after a defeat by 4 to 1 in his own union. He died in Feb., 1927, and was given a spectacular funeral. His coffin alone cost \$10,000.

O'Donnell's regime was the golden era of graft in the Chicago building trades. The various unions were in the hands of a clique of graft-men and crooks, who freely robbed workers and employers alike. They drew huge defense funds, a large share of which found its way into the pockets of these same grafters and their pals.

Ordinarily the Chicago employers tolerated and encouraged the building trades grafters, because they helped them maintain their monopoly control of the industry and they stood guard against too radical demands from the workers. But often, either in a period of unrest in the industry, when strikes threatened, or when the graft demands became too exorbitant, the employers protested vigorously. Then would follow exposures in the newspapers and jailings of labor leaders for grafting. Many such exposures took place. Thus in 1916, 1917, and 1918, 14 local building trades officials were convicted of extortion. Of these 6 were sentenced to jail for from 1 to 3 years and 8 were assessed fines of from \$500 to \$2,000. As usual these grafters were played up as martyrs in the unions and their trial was made the occasion for collecting huge defense funds, a large share of which found its way into the pockets of these same grafters and their pals.

The nation-wide post-war attack against the building trades unions brought about an exposure of O'Donnell's grafting and produced a whole series of extortion trials in 1921-22. This discrediting of the union leaders was a prelude to the great building trade strike of 1922, in which the unions, attacked through the infamous Landis Arbitration Award, fought to preserve their existence. The most important of the many labor trials in this period, which altogether totaled 218 defendants in the state courts and 227 in the federal courts (including many employers charged with conspiracy), was that of O'Donnell, Green Artery, and others.

In this trial the employers for days poured out stories of graft paid to O'Donnell and his clique, for insurance against strikes, for calling off strikers, as fines for using non-union material, and for violating union rules and jurisdictions, etc. In these shady deals the workers were used as mere pawns. They were often called on strike without knowing what the grievance was, and ordered back to work without an inkling of the settlement.

One member of the Wrecking Contractors' Association stated that his firm always added 20 per cent to their bill to cover labor graft. He declared that they maintained a "Christmas box" where money was placed for business agents, in the shape of donations to sick and death funds, Christmas presents, etc. Other firms alleged that they paid as high as 35 per cent of their contracts for graft. The Lubliner and Trimm people claimed they had paid \$250,000 graft to O'Donnell and others. Charges were also made that the following firms, among others, had been paid as graft to the O'Donnell clique: State-Lake Theatre, \$40,000; Roosevelt Theatre, \$15,000; Woods Theatre, \$40,000; Harrison Theatre, \$39,000; Somerset Hotel, \$20,000; Union Station, \$10,000, etc. The sums alleged to have been paid to labor leaders during the previous five years ran to several million dollars.

The graft took many forms. In one case the labor fakery collected from \$1.00 to \$5.00 per theatre seat from the employers as a penalty for installing non-union-made seats. In another, the Painters' Union agents fined the theatre owners 25 cents per seat for having painted the seats before they were installed. Large sums were also collected "to fight Bolshevism in the unions." In these and dozens of other ways vast amounts of money were collected. Much of it was supposed to go into the union treasuries, but it found its way instead to the bank accounts of the grafters. A typical sample of corruption was where an employer was told that if he wanted to avoid labor troubles on his ice plant job he would have to give the contract to the Refrigerating Machinery Co., in which Chas. Rau, an O'Donnell henchman, was interested. He did so and had no strikes.

on labor unions on the ground of "restraint of trade" it is pointed out by militants. Already the bosses have won two such victories in the Bedford-Stone-Cut case and the injunction handed down by Judge Schoonover against the United Mine Workers preventing it from striking against the Pittsburgh Coal Company.